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SUBJ: FRG VICE CHANCELLOR'S VISIT TO SPAIN

APRIL 3-4 1975

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SUMMARY: FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF VICE CHANCELLOR GENSCHER'S VISIT TO SPAIN MENTIONED SPECIAL ATTENTION GIVEN DEFENSE AND SECURITY DISCUSSIONS IN BILATERAL TALKS. GENSCHER TOLD FRANCO THAT FRG UNDERSTOOD NEED FOR SPAIN IN NATO AND WOULD BE SPAIN'S ADVOCATE BEFORE INT'L ORGANIZATIONS IN EURUPE. ALTHOUGH GERMANS ASKED SPANIARDS TO CONCERT STRATEGY ABOUT APPROACHES TO EUROPEAN ORGANIZATIONS, CORTINA DEMURRED ON FOCUSING ON SPECIFIC STEPS EITHER ON BILATERAL OR MULTILATERAL LINES. GENSCHER HAD UNOFFICIALS MEETING WITH THREE MEMBERS OF TOLERATED SPANISH "LIBERALIZERS" END SUMMARY.

1. FRG VICE CHANCELLOR AND FONMIN GENSCHER ENDED TWO-DAY VISIT APRIL 4 TO SPAIN, AFTER HAVING SEEN FRANCO, PRINCE JUAN CARLOS, PREMIER ARIAS, AND HAVING HELD OFFICIAL TALKS WITH FONMIN CORTINA AND COLLEAGUES (REFTEL). FINAL COMMUNIQUE REFERRED TO "PANORAMIC STUDY OF EUROPEAN AND WORLD POLITICAL SITUATION WITH SPECIAL ATTENTION TO DEFENSE AND SECURITY ASPECTS, AS WELL AS DIFFERENT THEMES IN BILATERAL RELATIONS." COMMUNIQUE ALSO REFERRED TO EXTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS ON DEVELOPMENT OF PROCESS OF EUROPEAN POLITICAL INTEGRATION AND "IMPORTANCE OF COOPERATION BETWEEN EUROPE AND USA" AS WELL AS DETENTE AND WORLD ECONOMIC SITUATION. BOTH COUNTRIES EXPRESSED HOPE THAT "BALANCED AND SATISFACTORY RESULTS ON ALL OUTSTANDING THEMES" WOULD RESULT FROM CSCE. ON BILATERAL LEVEL, COMMUNIQUE REFERRED TO IMPROVEMENT IN ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION, AND DISCUSSION OF PROBLEMS CREATED BY PRESENT ECONOMIC SITUATION OF SPANISH WORKERS IN FRG. CORTINA ACCEPTED GENSCHER'S INVITATION TO MAKE OFFICIAL VISIT TO BONN WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF PERIODICAL BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS.

2. AT CONCLUSION OF DINNER WHICH HE OFFERED TO SPANISH OFFICIALS APR 3, GENSCHER REPORTEDLY ASSURED GUESTS THAT FRG WOULD BE SPAIN'S ADVOCATE BEFORE INT'L ORGANIZATIONS OF EUROPE. ATTENDEES INCLUDED FONMIN, MIN OF INDUSTRY, AND MIN OF ECONOMIC PLANNING AS WELL AS FORMER SEC GEN OF MOVEMENT SOLIS RUIZ AND CURRENT PRESIDENT OF NATIONAL PETROLEUM ENTITY "CAMPESA", SILVA MUNOZ, WHO IS LEADER OF EMBRYO POLITICAL ASSOCIATION.

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3. BY MUTUAL AGREEMENT, OFFICIAL VISIT ENDED AT 1600 APRIL 4, WHICH ALLOWED GENSCHER TO RECEIVE THREE PROMINENT SPANISH POLITICIANS ACTIVE AMONG TOLERATED "LIBERALIZERS": JOSE MARIA DE AREILZA (FORMER AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE AND USA), FRANCISCO FERNANDEZ ORDONEZ (FORMER PRESIDENT OF NATIONAL HOLDING COMPANY INI), AND MANUEL CANTARERO DEL CASTILLO (PRESIDENT OF ASSOCIATION FOR SPANISH SOCIAL

REFORM). IN AIRPORT STATEMENT PRIOR TO DEPARTURE, GENSCHER REFERRED TO FRGS INTEREST AND SUPPORT FOR "EACH STEP MADE BY SPAIN TOWARDS EC, AS WELL AS TOWARDS ITS POLITICAL OBJECTIVES AND IDEAS. WE BELIEVE, THEREFORE, THAT THESE CONTACTS ARE VERY IMPORTANT."

4. MFA DIRGEN FOR EUROPE, NUNO AGUIRRE DE CARCER, WHO TOOK PART IN TALKS, BRIEFED EMBOFFS ON GENSCHER VISIT. AGUIRRE SAID HE ONLY MISSED SOME 20 MINUTES OF 45-MINUTE MEETING BETWEEN GENSCHER AND FRANCO. AT CONCLUSION OF MEETING GENSCHER CAME OUT AND SPOKE WITH BOTH DELEGATIONS OF NEED FOR SPAIN IN WESTERN ALLIANCE. AGUIRRE REPORTED THAT FRANCO HAD SHOWN SPECIAL INTEREST IN DEFENSE MATTERS BUT ALSO IN MANY OTHER POLITICAL MATTERS AFFECTING FRG AND SPAIN IN EUROPE, ESPECIALLY PORTUGAL. ACCORDING TO AGUIRRE, FRANCO STILL RETAINED CONSIDERABLE CONFIDENCE IN GENERAL COSTA GOMES' ABILITY TO CONTROL DEVELOPMENTS IN PORTUGAL. AGUIRRE REPORTED THAT GENSCHER AND COLLEAGUES EXPRESSED CONSIDERABLE PREOCCUPATION WITH CURRENT U.S. POSITION AGAINST BACKDROP OF DEVELOPMENTS IN VIET-NAM AND AT HOME. THERE WAS SOME FEAR THAT THESE MIGHT LEAD TO RECRUDESCENCE OF ISOLATIONISM. BOTH SIDES, THEREFORE, WERE OF ONE MIND IN INSERTING REFERENCE TO IMPORTANCE OF U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN EUROPE (FRG POL COUNSELOR REPORTED APRIL 4 THAT SPANIARDS HAD BEEN INSISTENT ON REFERENCE TO U.S. IN FINAL COMMUNIQUE).

5. WITH RESPECT TO SPAIN'S MOVEMENT TOWARD EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS, GENSCHER REAFFIRMED FRG WILLINGNESS TO SUPPORT SPANISH. HE DISCUSSED WITH CORTINA WASYS IN WHICH THIS SUPPORT COULD BE EXPRESSED, INCLUDING MULTILATERAL OR BILATERAL CONTACTS. ACCORDING TO DIRGEN, CORTINA DEMURRED ON FOCUSING ON SPECIFICS AS TO METHOD AND TIMING OF FRG SUPPORT, INDICATING THT GOS WOULD STUDY MATTER THOROUGHLY BUT CONFIDENTIAL

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MEANWHILE COUNTED ON FRG TO SUPPORT SPANISH EFFORTS IN BILATERAL MANNER. DIRGEN EXPRESSED OPINION THAT BEST COURSE WAS THROUGH BILATERAL CONTACTS WHICH WOULD COME TO FRUITION IN MULTILATERAL CONTEXT INASMUCH AS SPAIN COULD COUNT ON SEVERAL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES FOR BILATERAL SUPPORT AND MIGHT BE ABLE TO BRING OTHER LESS-FRIENDLY COUNTRIES ALONG PROVIDING MAJOR COUNTRIES SUPPORTED SPANISH POSITION. ON CSCE DIRGEN SAID FRG AND SPAIN LOOKED AT IT AS MEANS OF GUARANTEEING U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN EUROPE. THIS HAD BEEN MAJOR ISSUE IN BEGINNING FOLLOWING ORIGINAL SOVIET PROPOSAL AND GOS HAD UNDERSTOOD EARLY THAT RESULTS WOULD ONLY BE POSITIVE INsofar AS U.S. WAS INVOLVED IN TALKS AND THEIR OUTCOME.

6. SPANISH/FRG MILITARY TIES. DIRGEN SAID THERE WAS NOTHING

NEW TO REPORT ON FRG ACCESS TO SPANISH AIR SPACE AND BASE USE. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONING HE SAID THAT FRG MILITARY PLANES INDEED USED SOME SPANISH BASES AT TIMES FOR REFUELING, STOPOVERS, ETC., ADDING THAT GOS WAS RELUCTANT TO FORMALIZE AT PRESENT TIME IN ANY MANNER THESE AD HOC ARRANGEMENTS IN ABSENCE OF ANY WAY TO LINK SPAIN WITH WESTERN ALLIANCE. DIRGEN DENIED THAT, IN LIGHT OF REPORTED FRG PROBLEMS WITH USE OF AIR BASE AT BEJA, PORTUGAL, THAT FRG HAD EXPRESSED INTEREST IN EXPANDED USE OF SPANISH FACILITIES. (GERMAN AMBASSADOR HAS CONFIRMED THIS TO AMBASSADOR.

7. FRG AND GOS FONMIN OFFICIALS EXCHANGED VIEWS ON RECENT CHANGES IN QUAI D'ORSAY. ACCORDING TO DIRGEN, BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT RECENT REPLACEMENT OF DIRGEN OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND OTHER CHANGES INDICATED THAT GAULLIST LINE PURSUED UNDER POMPIDOU BY JOBERT HAD DEFINITELY COME TO AN END. THERE WAS MORE FLEXIBILITY IN THE QUAI AND COLLABORATION SHOULD IMPROVE WITHIN EUROPEAN ORGANIZATIONS WITH FRENCH.

8. MOROCCO AND PHOSPHATES. AGUIRRE REPORTED THAT GERMANS ACKNOWLEDGED THEIR CONCERN OVER THREAT POSED BY POSSIBILITY OF MOROCCAN CORNERING OF MARKET AS PHOSPHATE SUPPLIER. HE DID NOT DISCLOSE WHETHER IT WAS SPANIARDS WHO FIRST RAISED ISSUE IN CONNECTION WITH DISCUSSION OF FRG SUPPORT FOR SPANISH POSITION ON SAHARA.

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9. COMMENT: GENSCHER SEEMS TO HAVE GONE TO SOME LENGTHS BOTH TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON IMPORTANCE OF SPANISH CONTRIBUTION TO WESTERN DEFENSE AND IMPORTANCE OF U.S. TO BOTH SPAIN AND EUROPE'S DEFENSE POSTURE. FACT THAT TWO SIDES DISCUSSED WORLD POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION, ESPECIALLY CSCE, MEDITERRANEAN, NEAR EAST, CYPRUS, INDICATES THAT SPAIN IS MAKING GOOD USE OF ITS BILATERAL CONTACTS WITH MAJOR EUROPEAN COUNTRY TO INSERT ITSELF MORE CLOSELY IN EUROPEAN POLITICAL MATTERS. GENSCHER'S AIRPORT COMMENT REFERRING OBLIQUELY TO FRG'S SUPPORT FOR SPAIN'S APPROXIMATION TOWARDS POLITICAL OBJECTIVES AND IDEALS OF EC WAS (AS WELL AS NATO) SIGNAL OF SUPPORT FOR POLITICAL CHANGE IN SPAIN. GENSCHER'S CONTACTS WITH "OPPOSITION" WERE STRICTLY LIMITED TO THOSE WHO, WHILE HAVING SERVED FRANCO REGIME IN PAST, HAVE MORE RECENTLY TAKEN POSITION THAT CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE IS REQUIRED IN SPAIN. BOTH SIDES AVOIDED EMBARRASSMENT BY HAVING THESE CONTACTS TAKE PLACE OUTSIDE CONTEXT OF OFFICIAL VISIT AND ELIMINATING THOSE WHO, BY THEIR MORE EXTREME DEMANDS, HAD PLACED THEMSELVES OUTSIDE CONFINES OF TOLERATED OPPOSITION, E.G., PABLO CASTELLANO OF OULAWED PSOE AND TIERNO GALVAN AND OTHER GROUPS WHICH HAVE ALIGNED THEMSELVES WITH COMMUNIST-SUPPPORTED DEMOCRATIC

JUNTA.

10. CLOSENESS OF SPANISH /GERMAN RELATIONS MAY BE JUDGED IN PART BY DISCUSSION OF CHANGES IN FRENCH MFA. AS FRANCE'S KEY CONTINENTAL NEIGHBORS, BOTH ARE OBVIOUSLY CONCERNED WITH DEVELOPMENTS IN FRANCE AND HAVE MUTUAL INTEREST IN EXCHANGES CONCERNING THESE DEVELOPMENTS. CORTINA IS SCHEDULED TO VISIT FRANCE DURING MONTH WHICH WILL HELP SPAIN TO PROMOTE IMAGE OF ITS IMPORTANCE IN EUROPE. MFA DIRGEN TOLD EMBOFFS THAT GOS HAS RECENTLY UNDERTAKEN MAJOR EFFORT TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON EUR TIES IN ORDER NOT TO HAVE OPPOSITION GROUPS WITH SUPPORT OUTSIDE SPAIN UPSTAGE GOS IN PROMOTING SPAIN'S RELATIONS WITH EUR ORGANIZATIONS (SEE A-69, MAR 25, 1975).
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